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UNITED WEST AFRICA

BY

CASELY HAYFORD, M.B.E.

(EKRA-AGYIMAN)

Of the Inner Temple, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, and of the Gold Coast Bar; Aboriginal Unofficial Member, Legislative Council, Gold Coast.

AUTHOR OF

"Gold Coast Native Institutions," "Ethiopia Unbound," &c.

LONDON:

F. T. PHILLIPS

14, PORTUGAL STREET, W.C. 2.

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THIS FRESH APPEAL

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CONTENTS

1. Explanatory
2. United West Africa
3. Patriotism
4. An Open Letter to a Young Friend

EXPLANATORY.

This booklet has been suggested by a hint given in a review of my book, "The Truth about the West African Land Question," by "The Sierra Leone Weekly News," in the course of which the writer said: "Chapter 9 on 'The Future of West Africa' ought to be detached and got circulated in all the Schools on the Coast."

I have adopted the suggestion, as in the promotion of race unity it must be, as the late Dr. Blyden was wont to say, line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little. The main paper, which gives the title to the publication, was originally, in part, an address *in absentia* by the writer to the students of the New High Class School, Lagos; and it will be seen that the article on "Patriotism" was produced in like circumstances, having been addressed to the members of the Cape Coast Literary and Social Club.

It only remains to be explained that the third paper was a letter, with necessary omissions, addressed to a young friend upon the attainment of

his majority, which is here adopted with his permission in the hope that, having as its subject-matter the same trend of thought as in the other two, its inclusion may serve to stimulate a larger circle of youthful readers, if not thinking West Africans generally.

It is fair to observe that, since the publication of "The Truth about the West African Land Question," under the sympathetic administration of His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, until recently the Governor of the Gold Coast, both Accra and Seccondee have been provided with pipe-borne good drinking water, and the latter is now lit by electricity. There have, moreover, been completed public buildings, which do credit to the Public Works Department, besides other general improvements. But the main criticism is retained, if only to show what may be done within the short space of six years by an enlightened administration.

The value of Sir Hugh Clifford's administrative work on the Gold Coast consisted in its candid appreciation of fair constructive criticism of Government policy. And we flatter ourselves that, like the keen student of affairs that he is, much of the criticism in the following papers was not unknown to him when he set to work so resolutely to modify conditions. It is a temper of mind that one would fain recommend to succeeding and other West African administrations.

My acknowledgments are due to my son, Mr. Archie Casely Hayford, of Clare College, Cambridge, and of the Inner Temple, whose assistance in passing the booklet through the press has been invaluable.

C. H.

ANONA CHAMBERS,
SECCONDEE,
GOLD COAST,
August, 1919.

UNITED WEST AFRICA.*

The future of West Africa demands that the youth of West Africa should start life with a distinct objective. Of brain power we are assured. Of mechanical skill there is no dearth. What is wanted is the directing hand which will point to the right goal.

Energy is a fine thing. But force let loose may involve itself and others in disaster. As in the mechanical world so in the national life.

I bring to you this day a message of hope. One touch of nature has made all West Africa kin. The common danger to our ancestral lands has made us one—one in danger, one in safety. United we stand, divided we fall. This may fittingly be said to your elders. More fittingly should it appeal to you. In your school and college life, with modern facilities, you have those elements present which should make intelligent co-operation easy. He is but a poor observer who does not see that there is a time coming when one policy shall guide all the Governments of the West African Dependencies.

* The first part of this chapter was originally an address by the writer, delivered (in absentia) to the scholars of the New High Class School, Lagos; and it is here adopted that it may reach a wider circle of West Africans.

He is no lover of his country, he is no guide to his people, who does not realise that West Africa's salvation entirely depends upon a clear conception of her place within the British Empire.

All this, you may say, has nothing to do with the youth of West Africa. If the future of the fatherland is in your keeping, then it has everything to do with you. The time has gone past when our curriculum may follow any type. We should study science with particular application to the needs of West Africa. In history we should seek for tests to promote the healthy evolution of the people.

Africa will always be Africa both in Church and State, and the sooner practical men appreciate that fact the better. The methods of the pioneers of civilisation among us were peculiar. They were even dangerous. They tended to destroy African nationality. There was no hope for such as once entered its portals. That some are escaping, that the national conscience is being aroused, is certainly the work of the immortals.

There is, indeed, work for men and gods. For who can change the dual man? It is hard enough to direct aright the unspoilt man. But the task becomes doubly hard where you have to bring order out of two warring elements in one human breast. That is the legacy that the earlier methods of approaching the untutored African has left us. The

fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. Who shall deliver us from the body of this death?

I bid you wake, even the youths of West Africa, and apply this lesson unto your hearts. The future is with you. It demands that you should be up and doing. I would quicken in you thought. I would inspire in you the love of country above all things. I would deepen in you reverence for the old. I would dispel the tendency to forsake the tried way of life of our forbears. The death premium in West Africa to-day is very high. The most promising are cut off in the prime of life. There is a wasting disease which eats away the vitals of your promising sons. It is the canker of care which is bred of forcing ourselves into alien ways of life. It is that which will prevent us from giving a good account of ourselves unto God and man.

For a change I should give a prize to the youth who would contribute an idea to the solution of the race problem. To the individualistic soul who would dare to do amid the jeers and taunts of his fellow-men; who would endure crucifixion for an idea, I would raise a monument of imperishable glory. I would canonise him upon whose shoulders is borne the people's burden of vague complaint and murmur. And I would search for such among the very youths whom I have the honour of addressing.

We want thinkers, thinkers of great thoughts. We want leaders, born leaders of men. To what good is all your learning if you cannot help us in the day of our need? You cannot think great thoughts in Africa by adopting wholesale the hurry and the bustle and the way of life of the European. Nature did not intend it. Those who attempt it end in trouble. Nay, worse. It means death. For even the dual man cannot serve both God and Mammon. And no worse burden could be imposed by civilisation on African nationality than the burden of the double life, the arch-enemy of Truth.

Shakespeare has said:

> "This above all, to thine own self be true,
> And it must follow as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man."

And the universal conscience of man must endorse this testimony. Nonconformity is a great thing. It requires a man of character to be true unto himself. Anyone can conform. It needed a Martin Luther to lead the spirit of revolt. John Wesley was certainly greater than the uninteresting Oxford dons of his day. The spirit of protest sets thinking men upon enquiry. Jesus Christ was the greatest nonconformist the world has seen. We want badly in West Africa the spirit of honest protest. We want personalities who will dare to lead the people back to real life. It is unpopular work. But, then, great souls have never run after popularity.

The first duty of every thinking African, then, is to aim at truth in the life of the people, which is the basis of national consciousness. There is no reason why "the grace of manner and the charm of speech" should not be ours. But we miss the high mark of our national calling when we elect to be puppets in soul at the bidding of alien formulæ.

Are there men on whom we can rely in the work of national and racial emancipation? If not, where can we find them, where can we rear them? If in your cricket and football teams, or other manly exercises, you cannot prepare yourselves in that element of self-reliance, then is our future dark. We should like to feel that one tocsin call can arouse West Africa into national consciousness. What is it that bridges creeds and dogmas, tribes and prejudices, as broad culture? If we cannot find breadth of outlook, lofty patriotism, in our schools and colleges, where else shall we find them? Therefore, again, must you apply the lesson to your hearts that the future is with you.

When you leave school, a calling in life will engage your attention. There is far too much of the Government clerical desk, and the merchant's counting-house to do us any good as a race. Strike out for yourselves. Strike out boldly and on original lines. Then will the future of West Africa be assured. The gentle soul can win its way through

life. Be as wise as serpents and gentle as doves. There is no need for race antagonisms. And if such there must be, prove that by your superior culture such considerations are beneath you. To you manhood should be all important, no matter by what outward symbol differentiated. For "A man's a man for a' that." And sooner or later that truth will be forced upon wise men.

There are Japanese business houses in London. I have seen shops in London where Australian and New Zealand wares and raw materials are exhibited. Why may there not be West African business houses and agencies in the United Kingdom? Let us be up and doing; combine all you can. Let dreamers dream and workers work. But whether you think or work, your country calls upon you to give the best of your brain power.

I bring you this day, and, through you, the universal youth of West Africa, a message of hope. I bring you also a message of goodwill. I bid you shake hands across the waters over your common need, your common trouble, your common anxiety. And what I say to you I say to your elders. I would ask you in the language of the "Song of Hiawatha" to smoke the peace pipe together. It is a sacrament to be received on bended knees. And United West Africa rises, chastened and stimulated by the thought that in union is her strength, her weakness in discord.

2.

Again the future of West Africa demands that her sons should have a due appreciation of her place within the British Empire. There will be no harm either in Great Britain recognising her value and assigning her due recognition.

In that admirable work, "The True Temper of Empire," by Sir Charles Bruce, whose writings on Imperial questions teem with so much good sense, we are shown the value of the tropical Dependencies to Great Britain. He tells us that "The international struggle for the control of the tropics has brought home to us that no aggregation of nations in temperate zones can constitute a self-sufficing and self-contained Empire. It has forced us to realise the extent to which the great staples of the world's commerce come, not from the temperate regions, but from the tropics." He quotes for us a contribution to this point from the objects of the British Cotton Growing Association as set out in the prospectus in these words: "It has been estimated that if all the cotton mills in this country were running three-quarter time instead of full time, the loss would be not less than £300,000 a week, or at the rate of £15,000,000 per annum."

Someone may say that these are obvious truths. But truths have a fashion of not appearing until

some directing hand points to them. And so even now it is necessary to urge that the place of West Africa and her importance to the life of the Empire are not sufficiently appreciated. The *African Mail*, in a terse leading article in the issue of March 21, 1913, bemoans the situation. It treats us to facts and figures of an interesting order. It says: "How great is the comparative importance of British West Africa in relation to the other dependencies of the Crown is a fact but too often lost sight of even in these days. In area, in population, and in natural wealth—if we except mineral wealth, and we shall not be able to make that exception for very much longer—the West African Dependencies are, in combination, incomparably the most important of our tropical and semi-tropical sphere of Imperial activity. Their administration is really the biggest task which faces the Colonial Office. It is the biggest responsibility which the nation has incurred in the government of the subject races—India, of course, excepted. That is not understood by the general public. And yet it is an unquestionable fact. The total area of British West Africa is 444,342 square miles, just short of being four times the area of the United Kingdom, within 30,000 square miles of the area covered by the South African Union, larger than the two Rhodesias, twice the size of the Uganda Protectorate and East Africa Protectorate respectively, two-thirds as large as Bechuanaland with Basutoland and

Swaziland thrown in. But when we turn to populations, the relative importance of British West Africa is still more significant. British West Africa numbers 20,176,635, while the South African Union numbers only 5,973,394 (white and coloured included), Rhodesia 1,593,576, Uganda 2,843,325, East Africa 2,651,892. In fact, the whole of British Africa, other than West Africa, consisting of the South African Union, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Uganda, East Africa, and Somaliland only numbers a total of 15,043,503 inhabitants against British West Africa's 20,176,635. British West Africa is also the most densely populated part of British Africa, the average being 45.4 (in Southern Nigeria the average is 98.4) per square mile, against 12.6 in the territories of the South African Union, 12.7 in Uganda, 10.2 in East Africa, 3.6 in Rhodesia, and so on. A proper appreciation of these facts is required to give to British West Africa the place to which it is entitled in the public mind."

These things being so, West Africa calls for a treatment suitable to her condition. And the first thing which she may reasonably demand is efficiency in her service. If her importance is hardly second to that of India, it is only fair that her servants should be about as good. There is only one way of rendering the Civil Service efficient. That is by competitive examination. It should be an examina-

tion open to all, irrespective of creed, colour, or prejudice. It should be a test in which the best brains would win. The candidates should be known by numbers, not names, to avoid the possibility of sympathy or favour. And the spoils of office should come to such as win. And, what is more, rise in the service should also depend on a suitable test. And here may usefully be recalled the terms of the Queen's proclamation :—

> "And it is our further will that, as far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

Under such a régime it might be possible in time to see the Judicial Bench of the West African Dependencies filled by Jurists not necessarily British by birth. We do badly require efficiency in every branch of the service, and we may reasonably look for it in the administration of justice also. Men's lives and liberties and property are matters of daily inquiry. Inexperience may do a deal of harm; ignorance more so. In the Universities and in the Inns of Court there are Chairs for Mahomedan and Roman Dutch Law, and candidates for seats on the Magisterial Bench in South Africa or India must satisfy a given test. There is a time coming when

a knowledge, by competitive examination, will be required of a candidate who aspires to administer justice either on the Gold Coast, or in Southern Nigeria. If the place of West Africa has been correctly indicated, it stands to reason that ancient seats of learning will soon find it their duty to institute professorships in the Customary Laws of West Africa. See what a mass of information would thus be available for the solution of a given problem. Departmental Committees would then be at a discount. For there would be no necessity for the hurried and haphazard collection of evidence on an emergency in the face of existent scientific data and record.

3.

The future demands also the highest possible efficiency in the West African Medical Service. We want the best brains in this Department that the Empire can produce. We aim at the excellence of the Indian Medical Service on the basis of Lord Morley's policy. Though the gradual elimination of the European doctor, either in India or in the Gold Coast, may be, for the moment, somewhat remote, it ought to be possible to give every possible encouragement to Native medical men to devote their lives to scientific research in the interests of the people. The present policy of shutting

the door of opportunity in the face of highly qualified Native medical men is nothing short of a scandal; and one cannot but admire the manly stand that has been taken against it by the Rev. John H. Harris, of the London Aborigines Society, and others.

And there is reason for the demand. For the West African Medical Service wields a power before which the authority of Governors-General pales into insignificance. The word of its ministers is infallible. "Their decrees, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, do not alter. When issued, Governors-General quake in their seats; policies are unsettled; commerce and enterprise stand aghast; and as for the man in the street, he carries his liberty, the most sacred thing to a British subject, in his hands." Therefore it is that we must have efficiency—an efficiency which shall be gauged not by prestige, or prejudice, or favour, or the colour of a man's skin, but by the fair test of competitive examinations.

When scientific men disagree, the man in the street benefits. It leads to investigation. Scientific investigation leads to the discovery of new truths. At all events, we want to know the truth about the ways of Stegomyia and the manner of its visitations to the West African Dependencies. To the ordinary man this is important. For long he has

suffered from the domination of Medical Boards. To medical men themselves it ought to be important. For it will remove the stigma which naturally attaches to a divided house. It should help to rerstore public confidence.

In the year 1911 Sekondi was thrown into a tumult of despair. It was proclaimed as an infected port. Yellow fever was said to have broken out. The pity of it was the man in the street did not believe in it, and said so bluntly. He seemed to have had reason on his side. For it is an historical fact that cases that were treated outside the Colonial hospital as for malaria recovered, whereas the cases diagnosed by the experts as yellow fever and treated as such succumbed. There is no harm in calling bilious remittent fever yellow fever. What's in a name? But that there is a life to pay for every case thus wrongly named and treated. When medical men disagree the man in the street may have a look in. He may even begin to use his instinct. He may be excused if he calls in reason to his aid. And a very good reason for suggesting a thorough investigation is the frequency of the recurrence of these alleged outbreaks. Let us see what a well-informed writer in the "Gold Coast Leader" in its issue of April 5th, 1913, says upon the matter:—

"Dr. Rice, Senior Sanitary Officer, in an article which we reproduced from the 'African

Mail' in our issue of the 15th March, tried to explain the reasons for recent epidemics or so-called epidemics of yellow fever in the Colony being so limited and not approaching in character the historical epidemics of the West Indies and South America. In Dr. Rice's opinion these epidemics are limited in the Colony because 'cases are diagnosed promptly, preventive measures, such as evacuation of the infected area and isolation of contacts, are at once put into force, and the campaign against the stegomyia mosquito has done much to reduce the number of the definitive host; and that the promptitude with which the various outbreaks of 1911 were suppressed was in large measure due to them.' It is, of course, satisfactory to Dr. Rice, who is responsible for the sanitary management of the Colony, and any preventive measures taken to control or stamp out any epidemic diseases threatening the Colony, to proclaim, like the good merchant, the fine qualities and excellence of his own wares. We would certainly have been among the first to give Dr. Rice the meed of praise he solicits, and recommend him for honours he may so long have desired, had we been satisfied that all the cases which he and his associates diagnosed as yellow fever were cases of yellow fever at all.

"The Government medical officers reserve the right to themselves to diagnose any cases they choose as yellow fever cases, and nobody is to

question the correctness of their diagnosis. The Government medical officers allow no consultative body or committee, consisting of themselves and Native private practitioners, to see, discuss, and form an opinion on the cases diagnosed by medical officers as cases of yellow fever; and in a country like this, where fevers of all kinds are so common, it can be perceived how easily Government medical officers, keen on yellow fever, can make a mistake in the diagnosis of, say, febricula, call that disease yellow fever, subject the Colony to quarantine, the people to the discomforts and hardships of isolation camps, outrage their feelings by unnecessary post-mortem examinations on their beloved dead, and afterwards appeal to the world to congratulate them on their efficiency for having stamped out an epidemic in quick time, and saved the Colony from incalculable miseries. Our readers will appreciate the undue advantages of the position taken up by the Government medical officers when we inform them that Sir Patrick Manson, one of the greatest authorities in the British Empire on tropical diseases, says that 'the difficulties of diagnosis of yellow fever are very great. There is no clinical feature so far as is known which would distinguish a mild attack of yellow fever from an ordinary febricula, nor any pathognomic clinical sign that would absolutely distinguish a malarial remittent from yellow fever.'

"It is not our desire to hamper in any way genuine work being done to protect or free the Colony from any epidemic diseases. But we are profoundly dissatisfied with the methods of the present medical and sanitary advisers of the Government. There seems to be a lack of the scientific spirit among the Government medical officers. They appear to us to be imbued with too much class and colour prejudice, and their methods inspire the public with no confidence in the sincerity of their purpose and the singleness of their aim. They appear to us under the cloak of public interest to be working for their own hands and their own advantage."

Who can be silent in the face of such a situation? As far as the Gold Coast is concerned, we have had this sort of vague domination off and on for the past two years. The sinister flag goes up when men think themselves most secure. It is all done in the name of Science. It is high time Science decided once and for all. To Cæsar the servants of Stegomyia, as far as recent outbreaks are concerned, have appealed. To Cæsar we will go, and it will be a fair, open, impartial investigation in the common forum of the scientific world.

Once more, with an efficient medical service, the problem of population might be safely handled. We are not satisfied with the returns as far as the Gold

Coast is concerned. The fairest Utopia without children would be but a barren waste. The causes of infant mortality must be scientifically studied and prevented. We should like to see villages teeming with chubby little ones, who would in due course plough the field, or wield the pen, mightier than the sword; or paint masterpieces that will astound the world. We want healthy children very badly in West Africa, with its wear and tear, and that notwithstanding the prejudices of missionaries and philanthropists.

4.

But the acme of ineffectiveness is reached when we come to that glorified Department known as the Public Works Department. How is it that in all British West Africa we cannot boast of a decent harbour, perhaps with the sole exception of the Freetown Harbour? And it is on the Gold Coast that we suffer most deeply. Take that eyesore, the Accra breakwater. It is a grievous fault. It is a wanton piece of mechanism, which has broken heavily into the pockets of the taxpayers, and nothing more. Everyone, official and layman alike, points at it the finger of scorn. Someone made the mistake of taking the wrong angle. The Crown Colony system is the embodiment of irresponsibility, or it would be possible to discover that somebody

and make it ever afterwards impossible that a similar mistake should occur.

What of your waterworks, which take decades to finish, while the people groan with thirst? What of public buildings raised only to be condemned as unfit for habitation? For a change, it might be suggested that here, also, competition be invited. What really should it matter to this Dependency whether a French or an Italian firm gives us a decent, useful harbour, or whether suggestions come from the brain of an African? It has been ironically said that about the only straight line cut in the Sekondi-Coomassie line was the work of a black engineer. One may here take the opportunity of reminding the Government that there are competent Native engineers on the Gold Coast—men whose parents have spent fortunes in qualifying in the different branches of the profession. But they are, generally speaking among the unemployed. And yet these men would take a pride in the erection of useful permanent works in their own country. With the present enlightened Administration, it ought to be possible to call in the services of these men to aid the Department.

5.

And what shall we say next? The future of West Africa demands that the voice of the taxpayers should be more and more heard in the councils

of West Africa. You cannot admit the place of West Africa within the Empire without admitting this fact. The Power which controls the destinies of peoples and nations calls upon us to recognise this fact. West Africa shall not for ever remain a hewer of wood and drawer of water. She shall take her true place among the nations of the earth. View her history impartially. Where can man record such astounding development and such progress? The brain of her people is as fertile as her soil. Where, elsewhere, you have to prepare glass houses and regulated temperatures in order to produce given results, here you have only to scratch the ground, put in the seed, and presto! such results as may satisfy the most fastidious. And she shall move on to her preordained destiny, and no power on earth can stay her course. Only West Africa must believe in herself. She must realise the extent of her opportunity, and, bending her full force to the task, she must rise superior to every obstacle.

Well, it is obvious that West Africa cannot continue for ever watering the feet of the Empire without her own feet being watered. It would be against the law of Nature. You cannot be a blessing to others without you yourself being blessed. That does not depend upon the will of man. And the first substantial reward will be the enjoyment of free institutions. We do not necessarily require Parliaments after the type of that in the heart of the

Empire; but some substantial sort of effective control must we have in the passing of laws and in expenditure. Then will all the vagaries that are exposed from year to year in the annals of West Africa be put a stop to.

I have in another work indicated that the claim for representative Government on the part of a West African Dependency is not based on imitation of what has been learnt from others. The idea is indigenous; so, at the least, with the Gold Coast. That this matter may also be free from controversy, I shall quote from what I have said herein before. For, on the authority of the late revered Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden, the task of West African writers, situated as they are, must be line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, if so be the voice that cries in the wilderness may be heard of men.

Well, ten years ago I wrote in "Gold Coast Native Institutions" thus:—

"Legislation, to be effectual, must be with the Chiefs in a representative legislative assembly. Any important measure affecting the people must be passed with 'the consent and the direct co-operation of the Chiefs themselves.' If the policy of the Government had been based upon this sound principle, there would be no need to-day for this work. What the country requires most urgently

to-day is a national assembly wherein all sections of the community will be adequately represented. That is the fundamental element of progress—the reform at which all right-thinking men must directly aim."

And this important principle is supported by Lord Stanley, Secretary of State to the Colonies, in his letter to Lieutenant-Governor Hill, on the "Assessor's Jurisdiction," dated at Downing Street, November 22nd, 1844, which is worth again reproducing in this connection:—

"You will bear in mind that the power of the assessor in his judicial capacity is not derived from either the Acts of Parliament above referred to or from the Order in Council. . . . It must be founded on the assent and concurrence of the sovereign power of the State within which it is exercised, either expressed, as in the case of the treaty transmitted by you in your private and confidential despatch of the 6th of March last, or implied from long usage, as in the case of the long and general acquiescence, which can be shown in many districts, in the authority hitherto exercised by Mr. Maclean."

Again, what I said a decade ago in considering the "Conflict of Systems" applies with yet greater force to-day. It was this:—

"We have seen from the discussion of Native institutions how widely diffused among the people is

the idea of representative government. It is the very essence of the Native State system. In that system, the right of every adult member of the community to be represented in the State Councils is fully recognised and guaranteed. What conflict of ideas must there be in the mind of the Native when he contemplates the farcical pretext in respect of the representation of the country in the presence of the non-official members of Council in the Council Chamber!

"The trend of progress the whole world over is toward free institutions—a state of society whose members are free to govern and regulate their own affairs. It is the keynote of healthy Imperialism. It is this very principle, recognised by Great Britain in her relations with the Dominons over the seas, which is strengthening and consolidating Greater Britain. But I shall possibly be met with the criticism that self-government is reserved by Great Britain for those English-speaking Colonies whose populations are nearly or wholly white. That may be. But what is the essence of the matter? I am inclined to think that it is not so much a question of the particular people inhabiting a particular Dependency, as a yielding to the logic of facts in given circumstances. Statesmen in time have come to learn the hidden meaning of the bitter lesson which cost Great Britain the loss of the American Colonies, and the world one of the greatest oppor-

tunities of conserving universal peace, progress, and goodwill among men. In the case of the Gold Coast we shall appeal to the logic of facts, and shall not appeal in vain.

"I believe, therefore, that whenever a strong case has been made, showing the capability and the right of any given community in free alliance and friendship with Great Britain, call such connection by what name soever you please, to manage its own internal affairs, Great Britain will not be backward in extending to such a community the blessing of free institutions, feeling certain that therein lies the fastest bond with the Mother Country. In the case of the Gold Coast, we simply say, 'Allow us to make use of our own Native institutions, which we understand, and which from experience are adapted to us.' We shall ask once, twice, and ask again, and if this generation is not listened to, we shall hand on the legacy of legitimate and constitutional request to the next generation.

"But where are your facts, you will rightly ask, making it logically proper to ask for the revival of representative government, on Native lines, on the Gold Coast? To a fair question allow me to return a fair answer. I have endeavoured to show that, on the Gold Coast, you are not dealing with a savage people without a past, who are merely striving to copy or imitate foreign institutions. I can understand why, for example, you will rightly or wrongly

refuse full representative government, say, to Jamaica or Trinidad. There you are not dealing with an indigenous people. You are face to face with the problem of trying to train up a people who have lost touch with their past, and whose immediate past dates from the time when Europe went into sackcloth and ashes over her grievous sin against the African race. You may seriously or not assume that they are not ripe for self-government, and postpone the time till the Greek calends. But here you are confronted with no such difficulty. On the contrary, you are stimulated by the circumstances of the case. If you are free to admit it, you will see that you find here already a system of self-government as perfect and efficient as the most forward nations of the earth to-day can possibly conceive. A people who could, indigenously, and without a literature, evolve the orderly representative government which obtained in Ashanti and the Gold Coast before the advent of the foreign interloper, are a people to be respected and shown consideration when they proceed to discuss questions of self-government.

"Nor in discussing that matter must we lose sight of the fact that the position of the Gold Coast is perfectly unique among all the other so-called Dependencies of Great Britain. Without anticipating the discussion in the next chapter, I may broadly state that the relations between Great Britain and

the Gold Coast originated in friendship, mutual trust, and commercial alliance. It will be seen, therefore, that the people have a right to mould their institutions upon their lines, Great Britain being merely a protecting Power, and only concerned with their relations with the outside world. It will be also seen that at no time have the people divested themselves of their right to legislate for themselves. Before the spread of education in the land, they did these things for themselves, sometimes in co-operation with their friends and protectors. Why not now?

"It is sad to reflect in this connection that the policy of the British Government has been retrogressive rather than progressive. It is as if the Colonial Office had resolutely set to work to discourage national spirit, and to destroy every vestige of it in the breasts of the people. But this kind of thing will not do. Hence the humble appeal to-day that Great Britain should fully and seriously consider this question of free institutions for the Gold Coast upon which so much of the future progress of the country depends.

"It is conceded, I believe, on all sides that the Crown Colony system of administering the affairs of the Gold Coast has failed, hopelessly failed. What then? Is the country to be left to go to rack and ruin? It may mean nothing to the colonists, but to

the aboriginies it means everything that is dear to them of country, home, and fatherland.

"If the Gold Coast were a country with free institutions, free from the trammels of Downing Street red-tapeism, we should soon have good wharves and harbours, gas works, waterworks, and railway communication all over the country. Prosperous cities would grow up, and knowledge would spread among all classes of the people, producing a willing and efficient body of workmen for the material development of the vast wealth and resources of the country.

"In a well-regulated system the whites would find they could not do without the blacks, and vice versâ, and soon would grow up a spirit of forbearance, tolerance, and mutual respect, each race doing its allotted work upon natural lines in a prosperous and contented Federal Gold Coast and Ashanti.

"All this may be a dream. At least, so you may think. But if a dream, it is one worth attempting to realise, instead of sitting bound hand and foot in the face of ugly facts."

6.

I end as I began. I bring West Africa this day a message of hope. I bring her also a message of

goodwill and high endeavour. I bid her join hands across the sea over her common need, her common trouble, her common anxiety, her all-important aim. I would ask her men of light and leading to smoke the peace-pipe together. It is a sacrament to be received with an humble heart. And united West Africa arises, chastened and inspired with a conviction that in union is her strength, her weakness in discord.

PATRIOTISM.

Patriotism—that is the biggest word in creation barring that by which we express our idea of that Supreme Being whose greatest attribute is love, and whose province is unceasing action in the service of man. And this introduces us at once to the heart of the matter. Before man attained unto any measure of civilisation, the necessities of his nature made him only regardful of the things which administered unto his immediate preservation, and this without regard to the claims, or the needs of others. He, like the brute creation, was red in tooth and claw, and had not developed a conscience, which bade him pause when assailing the rights of others. The developing conscience is the measure of the developing civilisation; and when man becomes perfect, he will have attained unto that standard of introspection, which causes him to shudder at the idea of wronging others. And he who "makes his life fruitful in service," and evermore strives to bear more fruit, is working on lines which will ultimately bring him into complete harmony with the Divine Mind. And this is the end which the practice of true patriotism is intended to promote.

There is then a patriotism that is the genuine article and a patriotism that is false, just as much

as there is a real education and a false one. True education is from within, the false is from without. The last begins in imitation; the first starts with self-examination and results in self-realisation. Similarly the patriotically false starts by imitating something, which is not patriotism at all, and ends in a grotesque representation of the one thing needful. And, truly, it is the one thing needful, for it cannot be understood save by those whose hearts are aflame with love in the service of man.

Having arrived at the conclusion that love is the basis of true patriotism, it follows that, in the final result, it will embrace love for humanity and the absence of a desire to wrong any man; and as the Golden Rule is the test of individual perfection, so the same rule applied to the patriotic impulse must be the test of national perfection. But it is possible for the patriotic instinct to be retarded in its development just in the same way that the virtue of love is often arrested after certain manifestations. A man, for instance, may love his mother and his father, his home, and his children, and after that stage be so engrossed in his own good as to neglect the cultivation of love and respect for his neighbour. In the same way a people may develop a strong love for their own good to the detriment of the good of others, which is the case of an arrested development of the patriotic instinct. For the highest form of patriotism has the world for

its province, and the good of mankind as its mission. It goes forth to labour, to spend and be spent, in the Father's vineyard without thought of meed or praise, having for an example Him who said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me." This is the mark of the high calling of man; and it is strange that mankind are still seeking for pelf instead of that Peace of God, which passeth all understanding.

How far humanity is from perfection must be realised by all. It has been demonstrated by science that an Eolithic age existed before the Paleolithic, and its deductions are that man has lived upon this planet for a million years at least. And all this time God has, in divers ways, been nurturing man unto a fuller knowledge of Him and His purposes. And yet it is only now that the faintest glimpses of that far-off hill in noble service, "to which our God Himself is moon and sun," is about dawning upon the consciousness of man. As yet the light is too strong for our awakened sense to bear, and men are asking, Is it possible? Is it possible for individuals and nations to go labouring on, their joy to do God's Will, though it clashes with self-interest, believing that in this grand, this unique service, though the youth shall faint and be weary, and the young man utterly fall, the workers in this service shall run and not be weary, shall walk and not

faint, ever mounting up with wings like eagles. These are the heights possible to humanity; and it is a great pity to see men centred upon their petty selves, their petty aims and ambitions, thinking of the passing moment instead of eternal verities.

But the foregoing does not negative giving our first and best love to our nearest and best. It does not follow that because I am enjoined to love my neighbour, therefore, I am to love him better than I love my own kith and kin, any more than it follows that because I love the Flag of the Empire, therefore, I am expected to love my own country less; or again, because it is worthy to love other nations, that, therefore, I can be expected to love them as I do the Empire of which my country is a member. Here it may be said, not that I love my neighbour, or the Flag, or any other nations less, but that I love my own kith and kin, my own country, and the Empire to which I am proud to belong more.

In the present life and death struggle between the forces of good and evil it is essential that men should practise the true type of patriotism. And in the pursuit of duty it may be necessary now and again to ask, Who is my father and who is my mother? Jesus Christ was the greatest patriot that ever lived. In fact, it was He who set the fashion of the Higher patriotism, which embraces universal man and universal history in one grand democratic

conception in which all men shall be brothers. His own convictions were so strong that He emptied Himself of all but Love, and consumed Himself in sacrifice for the human race; and until you and I feel like that, until we have imbibed this spirit, we cannot be said to be patriots at all.

And in the new era what part shall the black man play in the higher service of man? The black man has served civilisation in a wonderful way, in a way that men hardly dreamt of, scarcely yet realise. The moral support of Ethiopia has been worth more than gold and lead and blood to the Allied cause. The enemy has stood condemned before the public conscience of the black man, and that is the severest censure that could be recorded against German remissness and wrong to mankind. Henceforth the sons of Ethiopia shall count, must count in the counsels of men. Henceforth any man worth the name of man, whatever his pretentions, whatever his clime, whatever his nationality, must hail him brother and fellow-co-worker in the uplift of man. And yet we, as a people, are prone to belittle our capabilities and our opportunities. The story goes that a flock of birds once set out to find a king. And they climbed unto an high mountain, if so be they might find him. And they climbed and climbed until they scaled the topmost peak, and there they did find him. But—he was only a bird! In my midnight slumbers quite recently I

dreamt a dream. I dreamt, and behold I saw a Shakespeare in the guise of an African, one of my own literary friends. And I beheld him with wonder and questioned him. I said unto him, "Are you in very truth Shakespeare?" And he said, "Yes." I said again, gazing at him admiringly, "And you wrote Romeo and Juliet?" And he said, "Yes, why?" "Why?" I said, "you look so ordinary, so unlikely a person to have written this immortal work." Take each of these, you who listen to me, as you please. But remember this, that it is the ordinary which, under God, becomes extraordinary, and that the part that Ethiopia will play in the new era is yet unrealised by men.

If you want to be saved in these days of stress, when you cannot keep away from the coming hurricane, you must have articulation, which depends upon enfranchisement, which, to be effective, depends upon education. And your patriotism will dictate to you the necessity of bearing your own burdens in this respect. Allow me, therefore, to commend to you the idea of a national educational scheme, which aims at the provision of the most liberal standards of culture and training in the arts, the sciences and industries at a national common ground or centre, call it a University or by what name soever you please.

We have spoken of a new era, the people's era,

the era of democracy. Like as the Christ in the fulness of time came and revolutionised the world of ideas by the introduction of the Golden Rule, even so now must patriotism be given a new twist in the concepts of man to take in the cause of the weak being taken up by the strong in the remaining chapters of man's history. But such is human imperfection that before the strong can hear the weak, the weak must appeal in no uncertain voice. Indeed, the strong cannot be blamed, if they regard not where there is no outcry, for the simple reason that the world is passing through a storm, and it is difficult to hear sounds of distress, even though one strains one's ears. Hence the necessity, the urgent necessity, for the uplifted voice of him, who is likely to drown. That being so, I venture to commend to you also the coming together of entire West Africa as one man to think together, and to act together in matters of common need on a common constitutional platform. If you meet with the weak-kneed and the prophet of evil in this grand enterprise, pray pass him by on the other side, and say this is not the day of petty considerations; this is Ethiopia's day, and Ethiopia must march on to triumph.

Once more I bring West Africa a message of hope, a message of triumph. The last message that I had the privilege and the honour of delivering has, under God, borne fruit. To-day entire West

Africa has clasped hands over a common need, a common constitutional demand. She is asking for an effective voice in her affairs. She is asking for self-determination, and we believe she will not ask in vain. It will be uphill work we know. There will be slackers; there will be obstructionists; there will be traducers. But the Eternal Power, whose fiat set our sphere going, will sustain us until our little world attains unto that degree of free and democratic life, which will enable us to develop according to the genius of our race within a free United British Empire.

TO A YOUNG FRIEND.

When you were born nearly twenty-one years ago, your mother and I consecrated you to God, and ever since I have occasionally repeated the act. Moreover, as you grew to maturity, I have endeavoured to bring home to you the fact that you have a special mission in life, and I have reason to believe that my efforts in this direction have not been unavailing.

I am writing this to get to you, if possible, on the day of the anniversary of your twenty-first birthday; and I should be happy to feel that on that occasion one thought would be uppermost in your mind, namely, I am a consecrated man.

Now, what was the meaning of the service on the occasion of your birth? Simply that we gave back to God that which He had given us in the humble hope and prayer that in the coming days He would have you for His own purposes and in His own way. To this end I have taught you the sacredness of service, and your training has been such as to fit you for such duties as you may be called upon, according to your powers, to fulfil.

Fortunately by temperament you are eminently fitted for service to your country, and, having had the opportunity, which you have put to good use, of acquiring the best culture of your time, one can look forward confidently to considerable activity and usefulness, under God, in this connection.

But why service? Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die!—that fairly represents the inclination of the majority of mankind. But you may take it from me that the only life worth living is one of service, prompted by the highest ideal, the ideal of love for one's kind, one's country. When the human soul has attained unto this stage of development, it becomes possible to realise a oneness with the Divine purpose, and to become a co-worker with God. It brings certainty to the aim and the drift and the goal of life, and fills it with a joy unspeakable and a peace and a confidence which pass understanding.

Your field of labour will lie among a people, who may easily misunderstand you. But through evil report and through good, the worker, especially if he be a leader of men, must set his face doggedly toward the high purpose of his soul, as God gives him light, looking all the while unto the Hills whence cometh his help.

Your course in life being mapped out, there are subsidiary considerations, which may promote suc-

cess or cause defeat, among them being the use to which one puts one's time. Generally, when you see a man, who does not know what to do with his time, pass him by; there cannot be much in him, and, possibly, his soul is in the embryonic stage. 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work,'' said the Christ, and that is the hall-mark of the small army that have moved this universe God-ward. And it implies method, order, efficiency, fruit. O happy indeed is the man who, at the end of each day, can say, something attempted, something done, in the uplift of fellow man.

There is nothing that takes away so much from efficiency as the keeping of friends and the consequent idling away of time. A wise man will, therefore, be careful in the selection of friends. They must be such as have common tastes with him, and who would respect his ideas upon the use of time. Believe me, it is possible to waste half one's life by failure to observe this simple rule.

And speaking of friendship, there are friends and there are friends. Shakespeare says :—

> "The friends thou hast and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.''

Friendship implies companionship, comradeship, and thrice blessed is he who finds true companionship in either man or woman; for the greatest souls are

often overtaken by such a sense of loneliness as to make them cry unto God in anguish.

There is nothing finer, nothing more Divine, than the bond which unites man and woman together in marriage. It was designed to be the acme of comradeship, of companionship. But it is also possible to prove a veritable stumbling-block to life's activities where a bad choice has been made. In no step in life, therefore, is greater circumspection desirable.

Since writing the above, I have been interrupted by constant travelling and pressing engagements. And that brings me to a question you asked me in one of your recent letters, How I find time for journalistic work amid the numerous other calls upon my time, political, literary and professional? Well, I can answer in one word:—system.

To the systematic man all things are possible. It is the only fulcrum to great achievements. Without it talent, even so-called genius, may prove abortive. Turn to Nature. Have you ever doubted that by day the sun will give its light and warmth, or that in due season the moon will reflect the glory of the sun? Normally speaking, if there is constancy and efficiency in Nature, what must the fact be due to but perfect system? Therefore he who would obtain efficiency consistently throughout life must be systematic.

But it is possible to be orderly and systematic without attaining much result. For instance, if one's time is wasted in a mass of unnecessary details, no matter how he husbands time, no matter how carefully he plans his work, the net result will be unworthy of the effort. Therefore the wise man will concentrate upon great ideas, great aims, remembering always that the night cometh when no man can work.

And having got into harness, there will always be the danger, which afflicts civilisation, namely, the eagerness for rush and hurry. Indeed, there is need to cultivate calmness of temperament, if it is not natural to one. It is an indispensable atmosphere for great work, work that is abiding and useful. Besides, it is a condition of the soul to be envied. It implies one being at peace within himself and outside himself. In such a condition your own emotions trouble you not, and the world around cannot ruffle you. It is a frame of mind in which alone you find a preparation for the higher life possible.

What do I mean by the higher life? I mean the life that is outside the ken of mortal eye, wherein man is constantly tending God-wards as naturally as the plant makes for the sun. It requires no effort, no direct application. It simply means a keen desire toward God, and an opening up of the soul for God to enter in. It is like focussing the

camera to take an image of a person; and it is as natural as a father opens up his heart unto the child-love of his beloved son and vice versâ.

Yes, Love, that is it. I spoke just now of a keen desire toward God. That cannot be save where the soul is babbling with love to God. And you will learn by experience that all love ends rightly in God. And when you have arrived at that stage, you are ripe for Eternal Life, for Love is Life.

Your whole life, then, being actuated by the highest service, as God gives you light to see it and opportunity to perform it, the attainment of success becomes a certainty, being a co-worker with God. That negatives all hope of reward, or desire for it. Indeed, reward may come unsought, but the worthy soul will not go out consciously to seek for it.

From this point of view, your life becomes a sacred trust from God to you. You will find it your duty to preserve your health; you will take no risks that might imperil life or health; it will be your concern to conserve every second of the span of life in order that it may yield service unto God.

Let me utter one word of suggestion. You will require to unlearn much that you have learnt, and to *dis*-similate much that you have *as*-similated.

Strange paradox, isn't it? Well, unfortunately, such are the methods of the so-called civilisation of the present day that a thoughtful mind, as soon as the glamour of external trappings begins to wear off a bit, must perforce survey the whole position with a necessary change of perspective here and there. Of course, to the crowd, who follow like sheep where they are led, it does not matter. But to thinking ones the hour must verily come when there will be a questioning and a sifting, as one sifts wheat from chaff. The discovery, indeed, must come, sooner or later, as to essentials and non-essentials, as to the things which matter, and those that don't.

You may discover in the course of your inquiries, that the term "civilisation" is a relative one, and that it is possible to acquire knowledge and put it to practical, delightful use in communal conditions not far removed from our own without going round the circle, which the ancient civilisations have run, or imitate twentieth century so-called civilised conditions ending in Armageddon.

If I had the vigour and the energy of youth, I would spend and be spent in warning my people against the accursed thing, which ends in the enthronement of self and all that it implies, and the casting out of God. No wonder that the tendency of the ages has been to cast out the traffickers in

souls as Christ cast out the merchants from the temple.

I have said enough, I believe, to indicate without wearying you, some of the main channels of a useful practical life; and I should die happy, if I knew that the life which in childhood was consecrated unto God had found an outlet at maturity in the highest service to man—in an humble endeavour to help in the true uplift of your people.